their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Reasuros recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Reasuros 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malábe had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʔinʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʔinʸi/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʔinʸi/. They left after a dispute with the /ʔinʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Rapalito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.3 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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4.Altschuler E-6 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER II

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayuga proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly professed to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayuga tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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harangued the people for almost a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his son can would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

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Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now entertainment--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

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Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /eipu tayaθimu/, who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[GO TO STEAL A WOMAN. - ANALYST]

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whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Perdomo of Encanto asked the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /ún^{y}i/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter.

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Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the profferred one; in this case, the men who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ačin^{y}a/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiaguenho Añapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the de facto inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

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Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from monte jivaro, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,